

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BONN 15643 01 OF 03 171042Z

12
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01

EB-07 TRSE-00 ACDA-07 IO-13 /087 W
----- 041803

P R 171027Z SEP 76
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1895
INFO AMCONSUL BREMEN
AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF
AMCONSUL FRANKFURT
AMCONSUL HAMBURG
AMCONSUL MUNICH
AMCONSUL STUTTGART
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
USMISSION USBERLIN
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 15643

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, GW
SUBJECT: THE WEST GERMAN BUNDESTAG ELECTION: TWO
WEEKS TO GO

REFS: A. BONN 15238; B. BONN 14675

BEGIN SUMMARY: WITH THE WEST GERMAN BUNDESTAG ELECTION
ENTERING THE HOME STRETCH, THE RACE IS STILL NECK-AND-
NECK. PUBLIC OPINION POLLS CONTINUE TO PROVIDE MIXED
SIGNALS AND THEY DO NOT INDICATE ANY SIGNIFICANT MOVE-
MENT ON THE PART OF THE CRITICAL BLOC OF UNDECIDED
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BONN 15643 01 OF 03 171042Z

VOTERS. THE POLITICAL DEBATE HAS BECOME MORE HEATED

AND MORE PERSONALIZED. OSTPOLITIK HAS BECOME SOMEWHAT MORE IMPORTANT BUT NO SINGLE ISSUE HAS REALLY COME TO THE FORE. SCHMIDT AND BRANDT HAVE MOBILIZED THE SPD AND KOHL AND STRAUSS HAVE NOT LET UP THEIR AGGRESSIVE CAMPAIGNING. THE LIBERALS ALSO SEEM TO HAVE BOUNCED BACK BUT THEIR GAINS MAY BE AT THE EXPENSE OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTNER. END SUMMARY.

1. THE WEST GERMAN BUNDESTAG CAMPAIGN WILL SOON ENTER THE FINAL TWO-WEEK PERIOD. THE MAJOR CANDIDATES ARE NOW IN CONSTANT MOTION. SECOND AND THIRD LEVEL BUREAUCRATS AND PARTY OFFICIALS HAVE ALSO BEEN THROWN INTO THE FRAY. CONSEQUENTLY, IT IS UNLIKELY THAT VERY MUCH HIGH-LEVEL BUSINESS WILL BE CONDUCTED IN BONN (OR MAINZ) FOR THE NEXT TWO WEEKS. THOSE OPTIMISTS WHO ARGUED THAT MAJOR THEMES OR ISSUES WOULD EVOLVE IN THE CAMPAIGN, THUS PERMITTING THE GERMAN VOTER TO MAKE HIS CHOICE BASED UPON SUBSTANTIVE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE PARTIES, HAVE BEEN DISAPPOINTED. ALL THE CANDIDATES RESTRICT THEIR SPEECHES TO THE BROADEST GENERALITIES AS FAR AS POLICY IS CONCERNED. UNDER THE EXHAUSTING PRESSURE OF THE CAMPAIGN THERE HAS BEEN MORE MUD-SLINGING.

2. OSTPOLITIK REMAINS ONE OF THE MORE EMOTIONAL ISSUES IN THE CAMPAIGN. THE CDU/CSU CANDIDATES CONTINUE TO ATTACK THE GOVERNMENT FOR HAVING NEGOTIATED AND SIGNED TREATIES WHICH NEGLECTED FRG INTERESTS. THEY PROMISE A MORE HARD-NOSED ATTITUDE SHOULD THE UNION PARTIES WIN THE ELECTION. BOTH CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT AND FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER NOW COUNTERATTACK IN EVERY SPEECH. SCHMIDT HAS CITED THE SUGGESTION BY A CSU BUNDESTAG DEPUTY THAT WEST GERMAN BORDER GUARDS RETURN THE FIRE OF EAST GERMAN GUARDS AS AN EXAMPLE OF CDU/CSU IRRESPONSIBILITY, AND THE CSU HAS NOW OBTAINED A BAVARIAN COURT INJUNCTION AGAINST SCHMIDT'S USE OF THAT CHARGE.

3. GENSCHER AS FOREIGN MINISTER EMPHASIZES FOREIGN POLICY IN HIS SPEECHES. HE ATTACKS THE CDU/CSU FOR CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BONN 15643 01 OF 03 171042Z

CALLING FOR ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES. SUCH ACTIONS, HE CLAIMS, WOULD NOT BRING ABOUT THE DESIRED POLITICAL CHANGES WITHIN THE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES AND COULD RESULT IN THE LOSS OF HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF JOBS IN THE FRG. IN EVERY SPEECH HE SAYS THAT AS LONG AS HE IS FOREIGN MINISTER HE WILL NEVER CONCLUDE A TREATY WHICH DOES NOT INCLUDE A CLEAR AND COMPLETE BERLIN CLAUSE.

4. OSTPOLITIK HAS ALSO BECOME PART OF THE BATTLE OF THE BUMPER STICKERS. THE CDU IS ASKING THE VOTERS TO ELECT KOHL CHANCELLOR OF GERMANY ("UNSER KANZLER FUER DEUTSCHLAND") SUGGESTING THAT KOHL WOULD HAVE A BETTER INNER-GERMAN POLICY. STRAUSS SAYS, "OUR STATE IS THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC AND OUR FATHERLAND IS 'GANZ DEUTSCHLAND'." RESPONDING TO CRITICISM FROM THE UNION PARTIES, GENSCHER TELLS FDP RALLIES THAT VISITS TO THE GDR MADE POSSIBLE BY THE GOVERNMENT'S

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BONN 15643 02 OF 03 171049Z

12
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01

EB-07 TRSE-00 ACDA-07 IO-13 /087 W
----- 041891

P R 171027Z SEP 76
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1896
INFO AMCONSUL BREMEN
AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF
AMCONSUL FRANKFURT
AMCONSUL HAMBURG
AMCONSUL MUNICH
AMCONSUL STUTTGART
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
USMISSION USBERLIN
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 BONN 15643

"DEUTSCHLANDPOLITIK" DO MORE TO KEEP THE IDEA OF A UNITED GERMANY ALIVE THAN ALL THE AGGRESSIVE AND EMPTY POLITICAL SPEECHES OF THE OPPOSITION. ON MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, THE SPD WILL ATTACH TO THEIR POSTERS STICKERS WHICH READ "VOTE FOR PEACE" ("DEN FRIEDEN WAEHLEN").

5. WHILE OSTPOLITIK IS ATTRACTING EMOTIONAL ATTENTION IN THE CAMPAIGN, A VARIETY OF DOMESTIC ISSUES ALSO WILL PLAY A ROLE IN THE OUTCOME. THE FUTURE OF

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BONN 15643 02 OF 03 171049Z

PENSION FUNDS, CONFUSION ABOUT EDUCATION REFORM PROGRAMS, AND BIEDENKOPF'S CRITICISM OF TRADE UNION POWER IN THE RUHR ARE SOME OF THESE FRONT-BURNER CONTROVERSIES.

6. THERE ALSO HAVE BEEN SOME POLITICAL HAPPENINGS IN THE LAST FEW WEEKS THAT COULD HAVE SOME INFLUENCE ON THE OUTCOME OF THE ELECTION:

-- THE EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE RIGHT-WING FOURTH PARTY HAS ANNOUNCED THAT THE PARTY WOULD WITHDRAW FROM THE RACE ALTHOUGH SOME DIRECT CANDIDATES WILL CHOOSE TO RUN IN SOME ELECTION DISTRICTS. THE PARTY WILL ALSO REMAIN ON THE BALLOT IN SOME OF THE LAENDER BECAUSE IT IS LEGALLY IMPOSSIBLE TO REMOVE THE PARTY FROM THE BALLOT AT THIS LATE DATE. IT IS EXPECTED THAT THE TOTAL FOURTH PARTY VOTE WILL BE SO INSIGNIFICANT THAT IT WILL NOT HURT THE UNION PARTIES AS ORIGINALLY FEARED BY SOME CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS.

-- THERE IS A "STERN" EXPOSE NAMING THREE FDP DEPUTIES WHO ALLEGEDLY BOLTED THE HANNOVER SPD/FDP COALITION AND MADE ALBRECHT'S ELECTION TO MINISTER - PRESIDENT POSSIBLE LAST FEBRUARY.

-- THERE HAVE BEEN REPORTS THAT ONE-THIRD OF THE RIGHT-WING SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC GROUP, THE FRITZ-ERLER GESELLSCHAFT, PLANS TO VOTE FOR THE OPPOSITION PARTIES, BUT THE GROUP'S LEADER DENIED THAT THIS WAS TRUE.

-- THE DEFECTION OF OUTGOING BUNDESTAG DEPUTY STIENEN FROM THE SPD, IN PART BECAUSE HE WAS NOT RENOMINATED FOR DIRECT ELECTION FROM HIS KREFELD CONSTITUENCY, HAS PREDICTABLY RECEIVED BROAD COVERAGE FROM THE PRO-CSDU PRESS.

7. MOST OF THE ABOVE EVENTS ORDINARILY WOULD NOT BE WORTH REPORTING BUT BECAUSE THE ELECTION RESULTS ARE EXPECTED TO BE SO CLOSE, THEY ARE MAKING POLITICIANS NERVOUS.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BONN 15643 02 OF 03 171049Z

8. THE SPD HAS NOT PERMITTED THE LOCKHEED AFFAIR TO FADE AWAY. A JUSTICE MINISTRY STATE SECRETARY WILL TRAVEL TO THE U.S. SHORTLY TO NEGOTIATE AN AGREEMENT TO PROVIDE FOR GERMAN GOVERNMENT ACCESS TO THE USG DOCUMENTS ON LOCKHEED. THE CSU ACCUSED THE GOVERNMENT OF DELAYING THIS VISIT IN ORDER TO PLAY POLITICS WITH THE AFFAIR BY SUGGESTING AN INVOLVEMENT OF FRANZ JOSEF STRAUSS WITHOUT EXPECTING TO RECEIVE ANY EVIDENCE. PRIVATELY ONE OF THE CHANCELLOR'S AIDES TOLD US THAT THE SPD DOES NOT EXPECT TO GET VERY MUCH MORE MILEAGE OUT OF THE LOCKHEED AFFAIR BETWEEN NOW AND THE ELECTION. WE AGREE, IN PART BECAUSE THE GOVERNMENT'S HANDLING OF THE AFFAIR HAS BEEN TRANSPARENT.

9. THE SPD AND THE CDU/CSU HAVE NOW INTRODUCED THEIR SLOGANS FOR THE CONCLUDING TWO WEEKS OF THE CAMPAIGN. THE CDU IS USING A VARIATION OF THE THEME "FREEDOM INSTEAD OF SOCIALISM" -- "OUT OF LOVE FOR GERMANY, VOTE FOR FREEDOM." THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS, ATTEMPTING TO TURN THE CDU SLOGAN TO THEIR ADVANTAGE, ARE NOW USING "VOTE SPD, WE UNDERSTAND FREEDOM BETTER." THE SPD IS ALSO PUSHING THE PERSONALITY OF SCHMIDT WITH POSTERS READING: "THE BETTER MAN MUST REMAIN CHANCELLOR."

10. THERE IS STILL NO AGREEMENT ON A FORMAT FOR TELEVISION DEBATES WHICH IS ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH SIDES. SCHMIDT INSISTS THAT IT BE A FOUR-WAY DEBATE INCLUDING STRAUSS AND GENSCHER. STRAUSS AND KOHL FOR THEIR PART ACCUSE SCHMIDT OF BEING AFRAID OF A MAN-TO-MAN CONFRONTATION. ACCORDING TO ONE SOURCE CLOSE TO SCHMIDT, THE CHANCELLOR HAS SOME DOUBTS ABOUT A ONE-ON-ONE DEBATE, NOT ONLY BECAUSE IT MIGHT HURT THE FDP'S

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BONN 15643 03 OF 03 171046Z

12

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01

EB-07 TRSE-00 ACDA-07 IO-13 /087 W

----- 041867

P R 171027Z SEP 76

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1897

INFO AMCONSUL BREMEN

AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF

AMCONSUL FRANKFURT

AMCONSUL HAMBURG

AMCONSUL MUNICH

AMCONSUL STUTTGART

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

USMISSION USBERLIN

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 BONN 15643

CHANCES BUT BECAUSE HE IS AFRAID HE WILL COME ACROSS AS TOO CONTEMPTUOUS OF KOHL, INSPIRING SYMPATHY FOR THE OPPOSITION CANDIDATE. IF, HOWEVER, SCHMIDT IN THE LAST TWO WEEKS BELIEVES THAT THE SPD IS IN DANGER OF LOSING THE ELECTION, HE MIGHT DECIDE TO TAKE THE RISK.

11. BOTH SIDES WILL BE LOOKING AT SUNDAY'S ELECTION IN SWEDEN IN THE BELIEF THAT THE RESULTS, PARTICULARLY IF THE SWEDISH SOCIAL DEMOCRATS ARE TURNED OUT AFTER ALMOST A HALF A CENTURY IN OFFICE, COULD BE A
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BONN 15643 03 OF 03 171046Z

HARBINGER FOR OCTOBER 3.

12. GERMAN PUBLIC OPINION POLLS SEND OUT MIXED SIGNALS, PARTLY BECAUSE BOTH SIDES ARE MANIPULATING THEM IN THE HOPE OF INFLUENCING THE UNDECIDED VOTERS. THE MOST RECENT ALLENSBACH POLL, PUBLISHED IN "STERN" SEPTEMBER 16, SHOWS THE CDU/CSU WITH 50.4 PERCENT, THE SPD WITH 39.5 AND THE FDP WITH 9.1. ON THE OTHER HAND, INFAS, INFRATEST, EMNID ALL SHOW THE COALITION SLIGHTLY AHEAD. INTERESTINGLY, AS FAR AS WE CAN FIND OUT NEITHER THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS NOR THE UNION PARTIES HAVE HAD POLLS TAKEN IN NORTH RHINE-WESTPHALIA WHICH IS CONSIDERED TO BE THE KEY STATE IN THE ELECTION. THE REASON A CDU ADVISER GAVE US WAS THAT SUCH POLLS WOULD BE TOO EXPENSIVE AND THAT IT IS MORE USEFUL TO DO NATIONAL POLLING.
HILLENBRAND

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: ELECTION CAMPAIGNS, PUBLIC OPINION POLLS, NATIONAL ELECTIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 17 SEP 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ElyME
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976BONN15643
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760351-0249
From: BONN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760951/aaaabqxk.tel
Line Count: 346
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 76 BONN 15238, 76 BONN 14675
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ElyME
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 01 APR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <01 APR 2004 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <11 AUG 2004 by ElyME>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: THE WEST GERMAN BUNDESTAG ELECTION: TWO WEEKS TO GO
TAGS: PINT, GE
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006